

**RICHÁRD GYÉMÁNT\***

## **Demographic Characteristics of Ethnic Hungarians beyond the Border in 2011**

### *Foreword*

Ethnic Hungarians beyond the border are Hungarians who live outside the territory of the Republic of Hungary but within the Carpathian Basin. This comprises Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries – in the territories annexed from historical Hungary.<sup>1</sup>

Hungarians living in the neighbouring countries found themselves beyond the borders pursuant to the territorial changes sanctioned by the Treaty of Trianon signed on 4th June 1920, until then the entire territory of the Carpathian Basin had belonged to Hungary.

Foreign censuses held in 2011<sup>2</sup> (in Croatia, Romania, Serbia and Slovakia) help us to determine the order of magnitude of ethnic Hungarians living in the territories which had previously belonged to historical Hungary.

According to these censuses, Hungarians living beyond the border numbered 2 095 586 people, the majority of whom, 1 224 937 people (58,5%) lived in Transylvania (Erdély), in the Partium region and in the eastern region of Banat (Bánság) around Timisoara (Temesvár) (in Romania).<sup>3</sup>

The 21,9% of the Hungarians living in the detached territories of historical Hungary, that is 458 467 people lived in Upper Hungary (Felvidék) (in Slovakia).<sup>4</sup>

---

\* egyetemi adjunktus, SZTE ÁJTK Statisztikai és Demográfiai Tanszék

<sup>1</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *Magyarok – államhatárainkon túl*. Pólay Elemér Alapítvány, Szeged, 2011. 13. p.

<sup>2</sup> In Austria and Slovenia for the first time, no use was made of conventional questionnaires filled in by the population. Instead, the 2011 census – consisting of a population census, a census of enterprises and their local units of employment, and a housing census – was conducted as a register-based census. Therefore there was no data of ethnicity. We have only estimated data of ethnicity. In Ukraine there was no census in 2011. The last census was in Ukraine in 2001. *European Statistical System* (Eurostat): <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/ess/-/census-2011-austria> (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.), *Republic of Slovenia, Statistical Office RS*: <http://www.stat.si/Popis2011/eng/Faq.aspx?lang=eng> (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.) KAPITÁNY BALÁZS: *Kárpát-medencei népszámlálási körkép*. In: SPÉDER ZSOLT (felelős kiadó): *Demográfia*. MTA Demográfiai Bizottsága és a KSH Népeségtudományi Kutató Intézet folyóirata, 2013. LVI. évfolyam 1.55–57. pp.

<sup>3</sup> KISS TAMÁS: A 2011-es romániai népszámlálás tanulságai és következményei. *Pro Minoritate*, Budapest, 2012. 3. szám. pp. 10, 14.

<sup>4</sup> 458 467. *Új Szó Online (A szlovákiai magyarok napilapja és hírportálja)*: <http://ujsozso.com/online/velemenyes-hatter/2012/03/02/458-467> (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.)

In Vojvodina (Délvidék) (in Serbia) – in the territory of Bačka (Bácska), Banat (Bánát) and Syrmia (Szerémség) – there were 251 136 Hungarians (12%) in 2011.<sup>5</sup>

In 2011, in Subcarpathia 141 000 Hungarian people (6,7%) live (estimated data).<sup>6</sup> (In Subcarpathia (Kárpátalja) (Ukraine) 151 516 people declared Hungarian nationality in 2001.)

The number of Hungarians living in Burgenland was 10 000 (0,5%) (estimated data).<sup>7</sup>

In the Baranya triangle (Baranya-háromszög) and Međimurje (Muraköz) belonging to Croatia today the total number of Hungarians – in 2011 – amounted to 6 046 (0,3%).<sup>8</sup>

Prekmurje (Muravidék) is the former territory of Hungary with the smallest number of Hungarians, only 4 000 people declared Hungarian nationality there (0,2%).<sup>9</sup>

*„Contrary to the general pessimistic prognoses made in 1919-1920 about the viability of the new Hungary, the Hungarian economy adapted to the new conditions relatively fast and successfully. The value of the per capita national income not only reached but exceeded considerably that of 1913. According to one of the most reliable calculations, the per capita GNP corresponded to 69% of the European average in 1913 and to 74% in 1929 – calculated for the territory of Hungary after Trianon.”<sup>10</sup>*

The economic consequences of the peace treaty were rather severe, yet the real problem – still felt today – was posed by the (mainly demographic and legal) status of ethnic Hungarians beyond the new borders of Hungary.<sup>11</sup>

Not only did the Peace Treaty of Trianon annex 67% of the territory from the country, it also excluded approximately 3.5 million Hungarians beyond the border, which represented 30,2 % of the Hungarian population of historical Hungary.<sup>12</sup>

In addition to ethnic Hungarians beyond the border, Hungarians living outside the Carpathian Basin also need to be mentioned. Hungarians outside the Carpathian Basin were scattered around the world at the time of great (political and economic) “changes of fortune”.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia: <http://www.stat.gov.rs> (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.)

<sup>6</sup> KAPITÁNY BALÁZS: *Kárpát-medencei népszámlálási körkép*. In: SPÉDER ZSOLT (felelős kiadó): *Demográfia*. MTA Demográfiai Bizottsága és a KSH Népeségtudományi Kutató Intézet folyóirata, 2013. LVI. évfolyam 1. 55. p.

<sup>7</sup> KAPITÁNY BALÁZS: *Kárpát-medencei népszámlálási körkép*. In: Spéder Zsolt (felelős kiadó): *Demográfia*. MTA Demográfiai Bizottsága és a KSH Népeségtudományi Kutató Intézet folyóirata, 2013. LVI. évfolyam 1. 57. p. Statistik Austria: [http://www.statistik.at/web\\_de/frageboegen/registerzaehlung/index.html](http://www.statistik.at/web_de/frageboegen/registerzaehlung/index.html) (Download in the 4th of September, 2017.)

<sup>8</sup> Croatian Bureau of Statistics: [https://www.dzs.hr/eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/e01\\_01\\_04/E01\\_01\\_04\\_zup14.html](https://www.dzs.hr/eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/e01_01_04/E01_01_04_zup14.html) (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.)

<sup>9</sup> KAPITÁNY BALÁZS: *Kárpát-medencei népszámlálási körkép*. In: Spéder Zsolt (felelős kiadó): *Demográfia*. MTA Demográfiai Bizottsága és a KSH Népeségtudományi Kutató Intézet folyóirata, 2013. LVI. évfolyam 1. 57. p. Republic of Slovenia, Statistical Office RS: <http://www.stat.si/Popis2011/eng/Faq.aspx?lang=eng> (Download in the 4th of September, 2017.)

<sup>10</sup> ROMSICS IGNÁC: *A trianoni békeszerződés*. Osiris Kiadó, Budapest, 2001. 235. p.

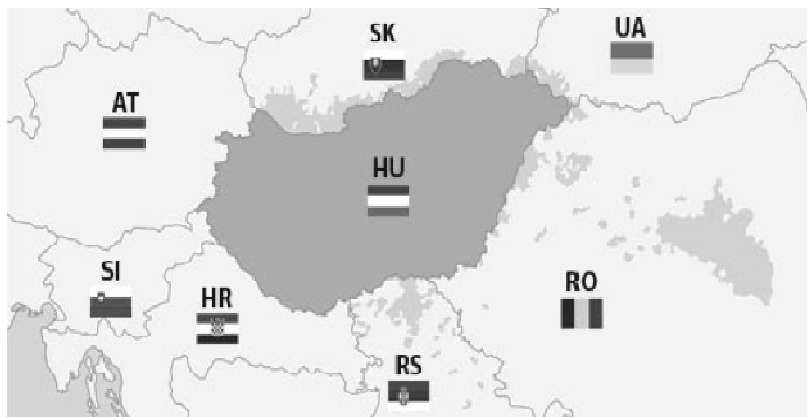
<sup>11</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *Magyarok – államhatárainkon túl*. Pólay Elemér Alapítvány, Szeged, 2011. 13. p.

<sup>12</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD – SZONDI ILDIKÓ: *A határon túli magyarság demográfiai és társadalomstatistikai sajátosságai*. Pólay Elemér Alapítvány, Szeged, 2005. 11. p.

<sup>13</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD – KATONA TAMÁS: *Demográfia*. Pólay Elemér Alapítvány, Szeged, 2010. 365. p

1. map

*Hungarians beyond the borders in 2011*



Source: KISPÁL RICHÁRD: *Magyar fiatalok a Kárpát-medencében. Barankovics Alapítvány*: <https://barankovics.hu/cikk/jatekon-kivul/magyar-fiatalok-a-karpat-medenceben> (Download in the 4th of September, 2017.)

*Hungarians in Romania (Transylvania, Partium and Romanian Banat)*

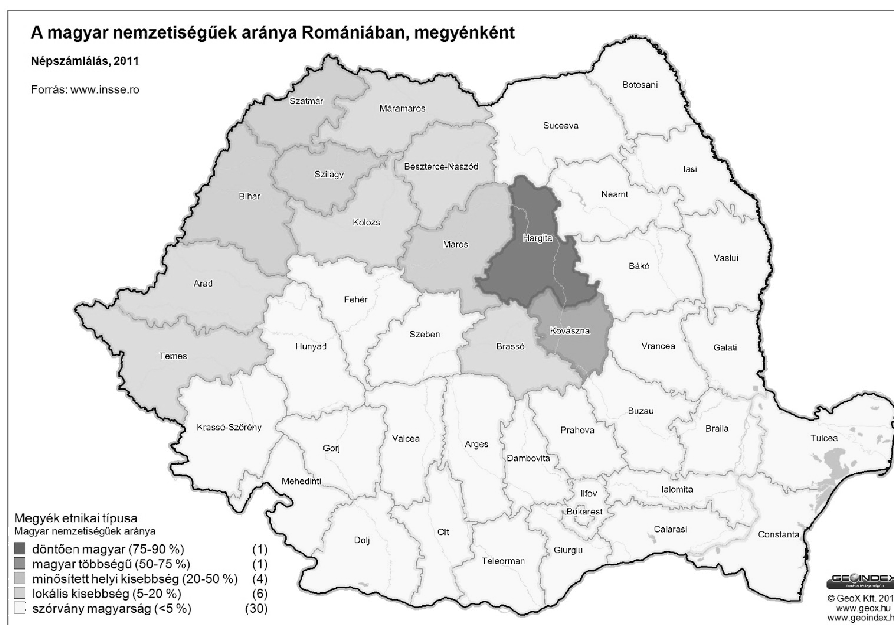
The current western borders of Romania were created pursuant to the Treaty of Trianon concluded on 4th June 1920 – by annexing Transylvania, the Partium and the eastern part of Banat.

Geographically, Transylvania is located in East-Central Europe, in the north-western part of today's Romania. The territory known as Transylvania in today's Romania is larger than historical Transylvania was as it also includes the Partium – that is the “parts” of the former Kingdom of Hungary – and the eastern part of Banat as well. Without these, the territory of Transylvania is approximately 57 000 km<sup>2</sup>. The combined territory of Transylvania, the Partium and the eastern part of Banat amounts to approximately 103 000 km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>14</sup> Currently, Hungarians in Romania live almost exclusively in the territory which once belonged to Hungary (103 093 km<sup>2</sup>) together with 12 other ethnic groups – besides Romanians; however, with two exceptions – Gypsies and Germans (Saxons and Swabians) – the proportion of these is less than 1%.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *A határon túli magyarság fogalma, keletkezése*. In: Szakács Ildikó Réka: *Nemzetpolitikai ismeretek*. Szegedi Tudományegyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar – Nemzetközi és Regionális Tanulmányok Intézete (SZTE ÁJK NRTI), *Nemzetközi és Regionális Tanulmányok*; 13. Szeged, 2017.

<sup>15</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *Magyarok – államhatárainkon túl*. Pólay Elemér Alapítvány. Szeged, 2011. 38. p.

## 2. map

*Hungarians in the Romanian counties in 2011 (%)*

Source: *Térképek Ptolemaiosztól a Google Maps API-ig*: <http://terkepem.blogspot.hu/2013/02/> (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.)

Ethnic Hungarians make up about 20% of the population in Transylvania. They form a close community mainly in Székely Land (Székelyföld), in the territory of the historical counties of Ciuc (Csík), Treiscaune (Háromszék), Mureș-Turda (Maros-Torda) and Oderheiu (Udvarhely) [currently the counties of Harghita (Hargita), Covasna (Kovászna) and Mureș (Maros)], this comprises 38,1% of the Hungarians living in Transylvania. Here the proportion of the Romanian population is generally lower than 12–15% (e.g. scarcely 2 % in Odorheiu Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely) and its region). Approximately 24,7% of ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania live along the border in the Partium, 20,3% in Central Transylvania and 16,9 % in an interethnic Diaspora.<sup>16</sup> Moldavia (Moldva) is the only place outside Transylvania where Hungarians live, they are the so-called Csangos.

As a result of the settling policy of the Romanian government followed for almost seven decades – which changed the ethnic composition first in the central regions of Transylvania then in the areas along the border – the proportion of the Hungarians is decreasing, although

<sup>16</sup> KISS TAMÁS: A 2011-es romániai népszámlálás tanulságai és következményei. Pro Minoritate, Budapest, 2012. 3. szám. 14. p.

after the changes in 1989 the settling process associated with industrialization, controlled from above, slowed down. This has conspicuous consequences first of all in Transylvanian cities: certain cultural centres of the Hungarians (Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár), Oradea (Nagyvárad), Târgu Mureş (Marosvásárhely) etc.) have become cities with a Romanian majority. In 1992 there were altogether only 175 settlements in Transylvania where the proportion of ethnic Hungarians exceeded 50%. This proportion further decreased by 2002. More than half of the Hungarians – 758 208 persons – live in towns and cities, 676 169 in villages.<sup>17</sup> In the second half of the 20th century the rate of increase of the Hungarian population in Romania slowed down. With the exception of SzékelyLand – where the birth rate exceeded the death rate – population decline is typical due to high mortality. This decline is somewhat less pronounced among Hungarians living outside Transylvania. Besides, the process of migration also contributed largely to the decrease of the Hungarian-speaking population: the number of Hungarians who have left Romania since the 1970s is estimated to be about 100 000.<sup>18</sup> In the period between 1977-1992 the number of ethnic Hungarians in Romania decreased from 1,712,000 to 1 625 000 persons while the natural growth rate was positive – about 85 000. Valér Veress holds the view that out of the “lost” 173 000 persons external migration loss accounted for 112 000 persons and approximately 62 thousand persons became assimilated for the greater part. (The rest migrated to the West and remained unregistered.)<sup>19</sup>

While according to the official figures of the 1992 Romanian census the number of inhabitants in Romania who declared Hungarian nationality was 1 624 959, the number of people of Hungarian nationality was estimated to exceed 1 8 million. According to the figures of the 2002 Romanian census, the number of persons of Hungarian nationality decreased to 1 447 544, their estimated number could be approximately 1 6 million. Expressed in proportion, the percentage of ethnic Hungarians in the total population of Romania dropped from 7,12% to 6,61% (6,5% in 2011). The proportion of other nationalities also decreased while the Romanian majority increased from 89,5% to 91% (88,6% in 2011).<sup>20</sup>

These three major factors are responsible for the decline of about 200 thousand in the ethnic Hungarians’ number in Romania approximately in a proportion of 50-40-10%, namely: migration loss about 90 thousand, natural loss about 80 thousand, assimilation about 20 thousand: approximately 190 thousand in total.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD – SZONDI ILDIKÓ: *A határon túli magyarság demográfiai és társadalomstatistikai sajátosságai*. Pólay Elemér Alapítvány. Szeged, 2005. 34–35. pp.

<sup>18</sup> HORVÁTH ISTVÁN: *A 2002-es romániai népszámlálás előzetes eredményeinek ismertetése és elemzése*. 80. p. In: Gyurgyik László – Sebők László (szerk.): *Népszámlálási körkép Közép-Európából 1989-2002*. Teleki László Alapítvány. Budapest, 2003.

<sup>19</sup> VERES VALÉR: *A romániai magyarság létszámcsökkenésének okai a XX. század utolsó negyedében*. Korunk, 2002/2.

<sup>20</sup> KISS TAMÁS: *A romániai magyarság az 1992-es és 2002-es népszámlálások tükrében*. 97. p. In: Gyurgyik László – Sebők László (szerk.): *Népszámlálási körkép Közép-Európából 1989-2002*. Teleki László Alapítvány, Budapest, 2003. KISS TAMÁS: *A 2011-es romániai népszámlálás tanulságai és következményei*. Pro Minoritate. Budapest, 2012. 3. szám. 10. p.

<sup>21</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *A határon túli magyarság fogalma, keletkezése*. In: Szakács Ildikó Réka: *Nemzetpolitikai ismeretek*. Szegedi Tudományegyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar – Nemzetközi és Regionális Tanulmányok Intézete (SZTE ÁJK NRTI), Szeged, 2017.

*Hungarians in Slovakia (Upper Hungary)*

Today the concepts of Upper Hungary and Slovakia are used as synonyms but it was not so in the historical past. The present territory of the Slovak Republic is 49,036 km<sup>2</sup>.

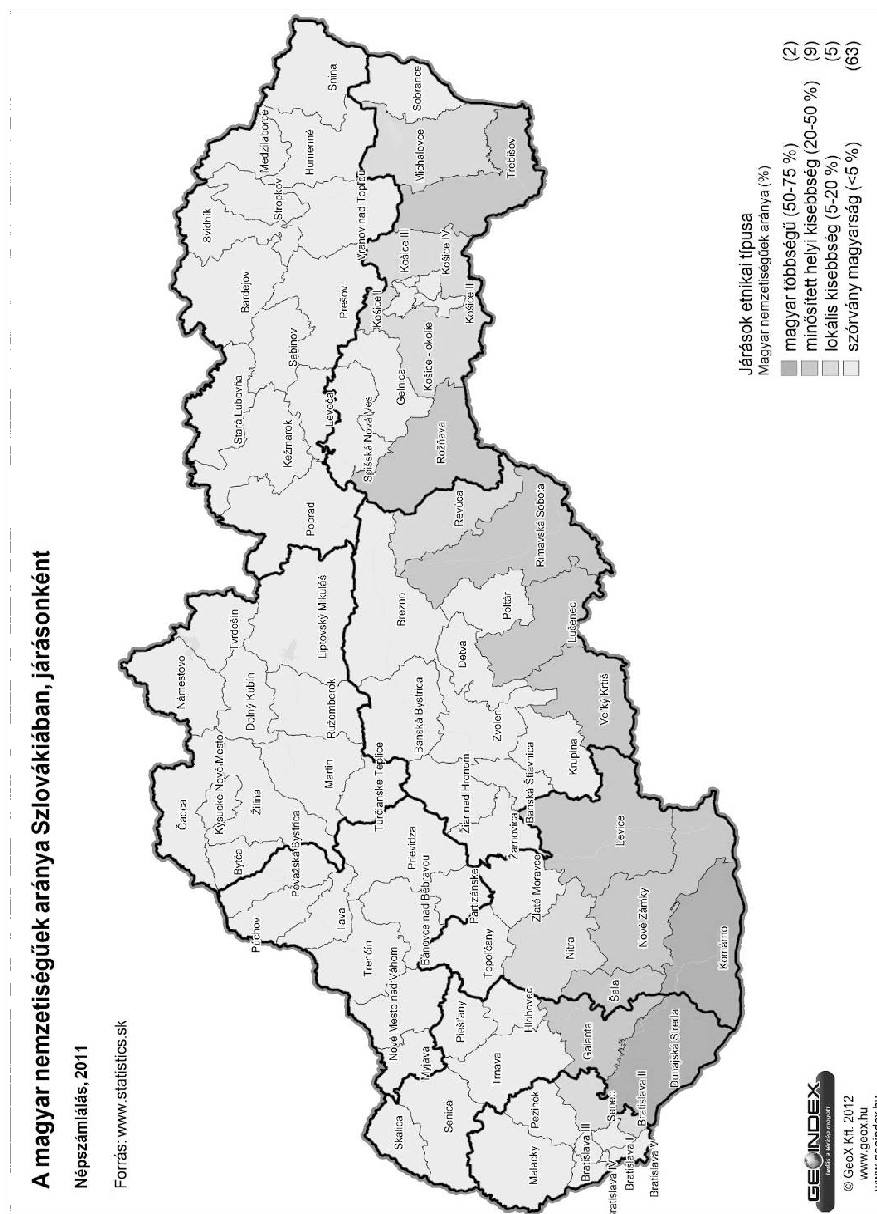
The settlement area of ethnic Hungarians in Upper Hungary is located along the Slovakian side of the Hungarian-Slovakian border. The language area of the Hungarians is relatively uniform and continuous. According to the 2011 Slovakian census, the greatest block of Hungarians in Upper Hungary extends from Bratislava (Pozsony) to Slovenské Ďarmoty (Tótygyarmat). The language and state borders coincide in Slovenské Ďarmoty and in the neighbouring Selest'any (Erdőszelestyén). The second block of Hungarians begins after Selest'any. It embraces the Hungarian border first in a thin strip, then it is somewhat enlarged in Gemer (Gömör). The second block ends by the city of Košice (Kassa). The language and state borders of Hungary and Slovakia coincide for about 50 km from the city of Košice, more precisely from the river Hornád right until Slovenské Nové Mesto (Tótújhely), which was once part of Sátorajjáújhely, the county seat of Zemplén. The third Hungarian block extends from Slovenské Nové Mesto until the Ukrainian-Slovakian border. The Hungarians living in Medzibodrožie (Bodrogköz) and in the Uh region (Ung-vidék) belong to this block. Moreover, ethnic Hungarians in Upper Hungary also live in villages of various sizes around the city of Nitra (Nyitra). Hungarians living in these settlements are sporadic. So Hungarians in Upper Hungary – as shown by the above – live in three blocks and also in one sporadic area.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *A határon túli magyarság fogalma, keletkezése*. In: Szakács Ildikó Réka: *Nemzetpolitikai ismeretek*. Szegedi Tudományegyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar – Nemzetközi és Regionális Tanulmányok Intézete (SZTE ÁJK NRTI). Szeged, 2017.

3. map

Ethnic Structure of Slovakia (2011)



Source: *Térképek Ptolemaiosztól a Google Maps API-ig*: <http://terkepem.blogspot.hu/2013/02/> (Download in the 4th of September, 2017)

The majority of ethnic Hungarians (approximately 95%) live in South Slovakia along the approximately 550-kilometre-long Slovakian-Hungarian border in a territory of about 9 000 square kilometres, in a relatively continuous language area. In the Hungarian language area there are approximately 520 settlements where the proportion of the Hungarian population exceeds 10%, within which there are approximately 435 settlements with a proportion of more than 50%. A decreasing tendency can be observed for this index, too. In addition to this, a significant number of Hungarians live in another approximately 90 settlements but their proportion is less than 10% (for instance, more than ten thousand (14 119 persons) live in Bratislava, constituting about 3,4% of the population). The census figures from 2001 show a dramatic decrease in the number of Hungarians in Slovakia. While in 1991 567 296 persons considered themselves to be of Hungarian nationality, which represented 10,7% of the population of Slovakia, ten years later this number dropped to 520 528, corresponding to a proportion of 9,7.<sup>23</sup> In 2011 458 467 persons lived in Slovakia, which represented 8,5% of the population of Slovakia.<sup>24</sup>

The reason for this dramatic decrease is not the decrease of the natural population growth. Migration abroad is not characteristic either, so two phenomena were identified by demographers as the main causes of the decrease.

On the one hand, the young Hungarians living in Slovakia who attended Slovakian-language schools in the 1970s and 80s lost first their cultural attachment, then their roots as well when intense urbanization made them move away from their native village, and in the new environment they considered themselves and their children to be Slovaks, in other words they became assimilated. (This applies mainly to previous inhabitants of Žitný ostrov (Csallóköz) and Matušova zem (Mátyusföld).) On the other hand, the second group is constituted by persons struggling with an identity problem who, in the elated atmosphere experienced at the time of the change of the regime in 1989, declared Hungarian nationality with reference to their Hungarian past, while in 2001, as a result of the ethnic conflicts and government propaganda against Hungarians in the nineties they declared Slovakian nationality again. (This is true mainly for Medzibodrožie and the Uh region).<sup>25</sup>

The proportion of ethnic Hungarians within the total population decreased from 12,4% to 8,5% between 1961 and 2011. The natural population growth has shown a declining tendency since 1994. The dangers of assimilation were lessened by the turn of the millennium in certain respects, which can be explained partly by the fact that an increasing proportion of Hungarian children's parents recognize the importance of education in the mother tongue (while at the beginning of the 90s 27% of Hungarian children in primary education attended Slovakian schools, this proportion decreased to 19,7% in the school year

<sup>23</sup> *Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky (Slovakian Statistical Office)*: <https://slovak.statistics.sk> (Download in the 7th of October, 2016)

<sup>24</sup> *Census: Fewer Hungarians, Catholics – and Slovaks*: <https://spectator.sme.sk/c/20042646/census-fewer-hungarians-catholics-and-slovaks.html> (Download in the 7th of October, 2016), *Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky (Slovakian Statistical Office)*: <https://slovak.statistics.sk> (Download in the 7th of October, 2016), GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *A határon túli magyarság fogalma, keletkezése*. In: Szakács Ildikó Réka: *Nemzetpolitikai ismeretek*. Szegedi Tudományegyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar – Nemzetközi és Regionális Tanulmányok Intézete (SZTE ÁJK NRTI). Szeged, 2017.

<sup>25</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *A határon túli magyarság demográfiai sajátosságai*. 31–45. pp. In: Kardos Lili (szerk.): *Demográfia: kockázatok és perspektívák Európa szívében*. Az Európa-Tanulmányok Központ Füzetek, 5. füzet, Szegedi Tudományegyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar. Szeged, 2012.



of 2001/2002); moreover, the number of intermarriages also stagnated in the 1990s. In addition to this, internal migration has practically ceased in Slovakia, the urban population has stopped increasing as tenements are not built in great numbers and therefore young people remain in their own communities where the assimilation effect is not felt, on the contrary, the Hungarian community exerts a retaining force on uncertain individuals.

Between 1991 and 2001, the number of persons of Hungarian nationality in Upper Hungary decreased by 46 768. The Hungarian-Slovakian relation, the change of nationality was responsible for 47.4% of the decrease. The change in the minority policy of the majority society accounted for 24.5% of the decrease. The internal politics of the Slovakian government led by Vladimír Mečiar had a not negligible role in this. The Hungarian-Roma relation and the category “unknown” each resulted in a further decrease of 9.6% in the number of Hungarians living in Upper Hungary. The reason for this is that in 1991 many Roma people declared Hungarian nationality for fear of being stigmatized. However, in 2001 they already dared to admit their ethnic belonging. With respect to the category “unknown” it can be said that a great number of Hungarians, fearing discrimination, “classified themselves” as such. Only 4.6% and 4.3% can be attributed to hidden migration and natural loss, respectively.

Between 2001 and 2011, the number of persons of Hungarian nationality in Upper Hungary decreased by 62 061. Which factors determining the reduction of the Hungarian population? 1, decrease replacing natural increase, 2, Hungarian-Slovak assimilation trends and 3, (hidden) migration. These factors cannot always be distinguished on the level of the available statistical data. Concerning hidden migration, we can only propose some estimates. It is characteristic of the 2011 census that for certain questions, the proportion of non-response is very high in comparison with the census data of the previous decades.<sup>26</sup>

#### *Hungarians in Serbia (Vojvodina)*

The final geographical borders of Vojvodina were set in Trianon. Vojvodina in the narrow sense includes Bačka (parts of the historical Bács-Bodrog and Csongrád counties annexed to the South Slavic state) and Banat (parts of the historical Caraș-Severin (Krassó-Szörény), Tamiš (Temes) and Torontál (Torontál) counties annexed to the South Slavic state). The present territory of Vojvodina is 21 506 km<sup>2</sup> (Bačka: 8 904 km<sup>2</sup>, Banat: 8 886 km<sup>2</sup>, Syrmia (Szerémség): 3 716 km<sup>2</sup>) as four-fifths of the historical Croatian county of Szerém was incorporated administratively into the newly-formed Vojvodina after World War II. Vojvodina was an autonomous province, then after the termination of its

---

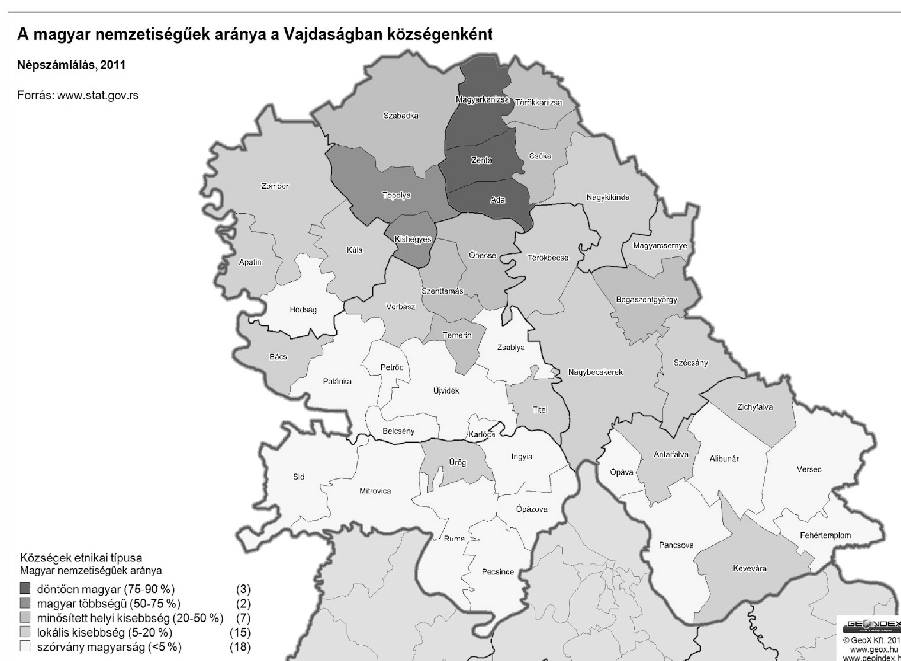
<sup>26</sup> GYURGYÍK LÁSZLÓ: *The demographic trends of the ethnic Hungarian population of Slovakia in light of the 2011 census to the present*. 55. p. Bethlen Gábor Alapkezelő Zrt.: [http://bgazrt.hu/\\_dbfiles/blog\\_files/9/0000004039/Laszlo%20Gyurgyik%20-%20The%20demographic%20trends%20of%20the%20ethnic%20Hungarian%20population%20of%20Slovakia.pdf](http://bgazrt.hu/_dbfiles/blog_files/9/0000004039/Laszlo%20Gyurgyik%20-%20The%20demographic%20trends%20of%20the%20ethnic%20Hungarian%20population%20of%20Slovakia.pdf) (Download in the 4th of September, 2017)

autonomy it became part of Serbia – similarly to Kosovo. The unification of the three regions – Bačka, Banat and Sirmia – led to the formation of Vojvodina as known today.<sup>27</sup>

In 2011 a total number of 1 931 809 inhabitants lived in the territory of Vojvodina equalling 21 205 km<sup>2</sup>. Ethnically, Vojvodina is one of the most mixed regions in Europe. Besides Serbians and Hungarians, several other ethnic groups (Slovaks, Romanians, Gypsies, Macedonians, Croats, Montenegrins, Bunjevci etc.) also live there.<sup>28</sup> Nationally (Central Serbia and Vojvodina), the Hungarian population amounted to 253 899 persons in 2011, while 20 years earlier (in 1991) their number was 343,800. Ethnic Hungarians suffered a total loss of 89 901 persons in the territory of Vojvodina and Central Serbia.<sup>29</sup>

4. map

*Hungarians in the Opština of Vojvodina (2011)*



Source: *Térképek Ptolemaiosztól a Google Maps API-ig*: <http://terkepem.blogspot.hu/2013/02/> (Download in the 4th of September, 2017)

<sup>27</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *A határon túli magyarság fogalma, keletkezése*. In: Szakács Ildikó Réka: Nemzetpolitikai ismeretek. Szegedi Tudományegyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar – Nemzetközi és Regionális Tanulmányok Intézete (SZTE ÁJK NRTI). Szeged, 2017.

<sup>28</sup> KAPITÁNY BALÁZS: *Kárpát-medencei népszámlálási körkép*. In: SPÉDER ZSOLT (felelős kiadó): *Demográfia*. MTA Demográfiai Bizottsága és a KSH Népességtudományi Kutató Intézet folyóirata, 2013. LVI. évfolyam 1. 53. p.

<sup>29</sup> *Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia*: <http://www.stat.gov.rs/WebSite/Public/SiteSearchResult.aspx?searchKey=census%202011> (Download in the 4th of September, 2017)

With respect to the three regions, the greatest number of Hungarians lives in Bačka, they make up approximately 77 per cent of the Hungarians in Vojvodina. Approximately 22 per cent live in Banat and the remaining approximately 1 per cent in Syrmia.

In accordance with the Serbian public administration, Vojvodina can be divided into 45 municipalities – public administration units similar to districts – 20 of which can be found in Bačka, 16 in Banat and 9 in Syrmia. Hungarians constitute the majority in eight municipalities, absolute majority in six of them [Ada, Bačka Topola (Bácsstopolya), Čoka (Csóka), Mali Idoš (Kishegyes), Kanjiža (Magyarakanizsa) and Senta (Zenta)] and relative majority in two [Bečej (Óbecse) and Subotica (Szabadka)]. These eight municipalities constitute the Hungarian block, any other settlements with a Hungarian majority or minority count as sporadic. Reasons for the population decline of Hungarians:<sup>30</sup>

1. extremely low birth rate,
2. continuous and forcible assimilation,
3. mass emigration,
4. catastrophic ageing,
5. unprecedented disposition to suicide,
6. alcoholism,
7. high divorce rate,
8. high number of abortions,
9. increasing number of intermarriages,
10. readiness to assimilate,
11. the census category called “Yugoslav”.

The endless process of settling since Trianon and the census manipulations accompanied by the simultaneous and artificial suppression of the Hungarian system of institutions resulted in the considerable decline of the proportion of Hungarians as compared to the Serbian population.

The proportion of the Serbs in the parts of Vojvodina inhabited by the Hungarians increased to such an extent that the further acceleration of the assimilation processes can be expected in the future. Ethnic Hungarians could retain their “position” only in the three municipalities by the river Tisza (Kanjiža, Senta, Ada). Here the decline in the Hungarian population and the increase in the Serbian population are less than experienced in the other districts. Hungarians in Bečej, which belongs to the Hungarian block, have lost their absolute majority and their proportion of 48,84 represents only relative majority. By the time of the following census it can be expected to have lost this majority as well. The demographic status of sporadic Hungarians has stabilized in certain areas – especially in Banat – although the South Slavic war, the immigration of the Serbian refugees (approximately 550-600 thousand persons) and the economic recession have all had their effect. As concerns Serbian immigrants, the majority of them consider Vojvodina their new home. This process seems to be reinforced by the amended act on Yugoslavian citizenship, which came into force in February 2001; pursuant to this, Yugoslavian citizenship can be acquired in an unusually short time: altogether 125 thousand persons received citizenship,

---

<sup>30</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *Magyarok – államhatárainkon túl*. Pólay Elemér Alapítvány, Szeged, 2011. 160–171. pp.

80 000 of whom had dual citizenship. The number of Serbian refugees is estimated to amount to 5-600 thousand persons.<sup>31</sup>

### *Hungarians in Ukraine (Subcarpathia)*

Subcarpathia had constituted part of the State of Hungary since the 10th century, but it did not form a uniform historical region until World War I.

The territory of Subcarpathia belonged to Czechoslovakia between 1920 and 1945, afterwards it became part of the Soviet Union right until 1991, when it became one of the counties of the independent Republic of Ukraine.

During history, Subcarpathia was always a region with mixed population. The German – urban – population immigrated there in the course of the 13th century. Romanians, who had an animal-breeding lifestyle, also started to immigrate simultaneously with the Germans. The ethnic picture of the region changed in the 18th century when the Ruthenian ethnic group, arriving continuously since the 13th century from the direction of Galicia, became predominant. Greater Slovakian and Jewish immigration also started during the 18th century. Due to its unfavourable agricultural conditions and the lack of commercial relations, Subcarpathia was the most backward region of historical Hungary.

The territory of Subcarpathia is 12,800 km<sup>2</sup>, which constitutes 2.12% of the territory of Ukraine. According to the 2001 Ukrainian census figures, the population of Subcarpathia was 1 254 614 (100%). The second largest ethnic group after the Ukrainians was that of the Hungarians, numbering 151 516 persons (12,07%). A total number of 156,600 Hungarians lived in Ukraine, the majority of them (96,75%) in Subcarpathia.<sup>32</sup> Apart from Subcarpathia, larger Hungarian groups can be found in the following cities: Kiev, Lvov and Kharkov (Harkov). As regards the territorial location of the Hungarians in Subcarpathia, the Hungarian ethnic minority lives predominantly along the Hungarian-Ukrainian border in a 20-km area from the border. The majority of the Hungarians lives there, while another major area which is populated by the Hungarians, although sporadically, is the valley of the river Tisza. This area extends from Khust (Huszt) until the headwaters of Tisza, a larger number of population lives only in Khust, Tiachiv (Técső), Viskove (Visk), Solotvyno (Aknaszlatina) and Rakhiv (Rahó) – in the former royal towns of Maramureş (Máramaros). The two large cities, Uzhhorod (Ungvár) and Mukachevo (Munkács) are also home to a greater number of Hungarians. Berehove (Beregszász), the centre of Hungarians, is the only greater city which retained its Hungarian – relative – majority (48%).<sup>33</sup>

According to the – Soviet – census made in 1989, the number of Hungarians in Subcarpathia decreased by 4,195 (–2.69%) by 2001. In 1989 163,111 Hungarians lived in

<sup>31</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD – SZONDI ILDIKÓ: *A határon túli magyarság demográfiai és társadalomstatistikai sajátosságai*. Pólay Elemér Alapítvány, Szeged, 2005. 111–112. pp. FRIEDRICH ANNA: *Annyi magyar, ahány betelepült menekült a Vajdaságban*. *Magyarságkutató Tudományos Társaság*: [http://www.mtt.org.rs/publikaciok/mtt\\_konyvsorozatok/CsaladiKorfezeszekhagyas.pdf](http://www.mtt.org.rs/publikaciok/mtt_konyvsorozatok/CsaladiKorfezeszekhagyas.pdf) (Download in the 4th of September, 2017)

<sup>32</sup> MOLNÁR JÓZSEF – MOLNÁR D. ISTVÁN: *Kárpátalja népessége és magyarsága a 2001. évi ukrainai népszámlálás hozzáférhető eredményeinek tükrében*. 64. p. In.: Gyurgyik László – Sebők László (szerk.): *Népszámlálási körkép Közép-Európából 1989–2002*. Teleki László Alapítvány, Budapest, 2003.

<sup>33</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *Magyarok – államhatárainkon túl*. Pólay Elemér Alapítvány, Szeged, 2011. 191–193. pp.

Ukraine, in 2001 only 156,600. This means a decrease of 6,511 persons (–3.99%). The number of Hungarians has continuously been decreasing since 1920, although not at such a drastic rate as for Hungarians living in Vojvodina. In 12 years the number of ethnic Hungarians in Subcarpathia decreased by 4,195. The Hungarians' assimilation is not fast demographically. Intermarriages – which are the “hotbed” for assimilation – are also present here but their effect cannot be felt so strongly as in the case of Hungarians in Slovenia, in Prekmurje. The greatest problem for Hungarians in Subcarpathia is the drastic decline of birth rate and increase of death rate. The ageing of the population is a major problem, too. The demographic characteristics of Hungarians in Subcarpathia are partly determined – indirectly – by the disadvantageous economic situation. Subcarpathia was an underdeveloped region even when it was part of historical Hungary, and this situation worsened while it belonged to the Soviet Union and to Ukraine. Out of the 24 counties of Ukraine, Subcarpathia is among the first ones in terms of the rate of unemployment. According to data from year 2002, 6.5% of the economically active population was unemployed in Subcarpathia. Although this figure may not seem high, it is important to know that only every tenth person contacts the employment centres and registers themselves. The rate of unemployment can be estimated to be ten times higher than the official figures at best. Unemployment reaches almost 100% in certain settlements of the areas populated by Hungarians, the inhabitants try to support themselves and their families by doing various kinds of “black” work. For many of them, the only certain living is provided by the proximity of the Hungarian border. In recent years there has been a boom in tourism in Subcarpathia, and although this does not solve the grave economic situation, at least it offers some alleviation. Another serious problem – among Hungarians – is emigration to Hungary. The rate of temporary migration is also high. A great proportion of Hungarians living in Subcarpathia come over to Hungary to learn or to work. The former is typical mainly of younger people, the latter of older ones. Presumably, one of the reasons why the number of Hungarians did not decrease so drastically is that part of the Gypsy population – as compared to 1989 – declared Hungarian nationality. This can be observed mainly in large cities – Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Berehove, Vynohradiv (Nagyszőlös) and Khust. Because of the positive advantages of the “benefits act”, some of the people uncertain as to nationality rather declared Hungarian nationality.

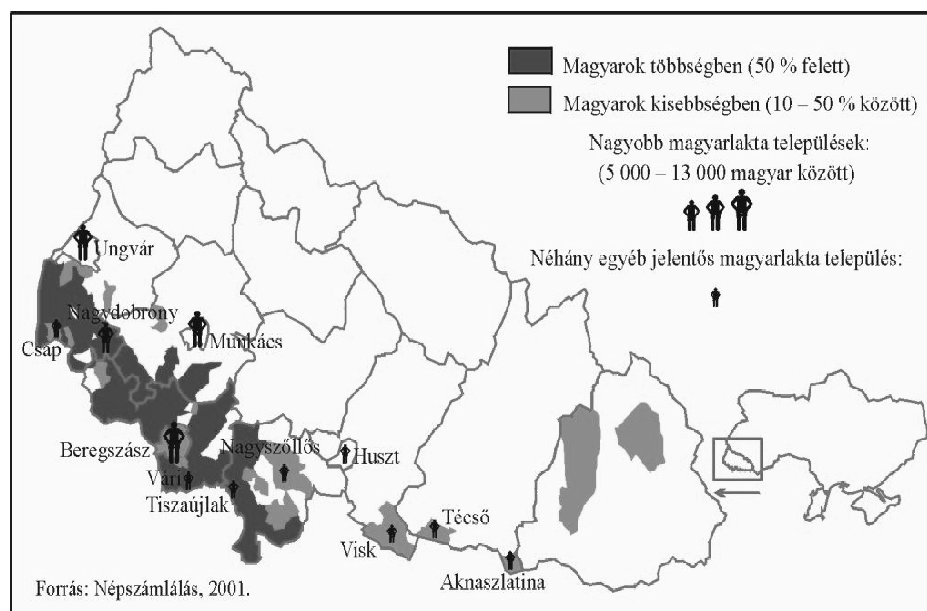
*„The running of the next all-Ukrainian population census is determined by the decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine from 9 April 2008 № 581-p “On the all-Ukrainian population census conduction in 2020”.”<sup>34</sup>*

In 2011, in Subcarpathia approximately 141 000 Hungarian people (6,7%) live (estimated datas).<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> *State Statistics Service of Ukraine*: <http://www.ukrcensus.gov.ua/eng/> (Download in the 4th of September, 2017)

<sup>35</sup> KAPITÁNY BALÁZS: *Kárpát-medencei népszámlálási körkép*. In: Spéder Zsolt (felelős kiadó): *Demográfia*. MTA Demográfiai Bizottsága és a KSH Népeségtudományi Kutató Intézet folyóirata, 2013. LVI. évfolyam I. 55. p.

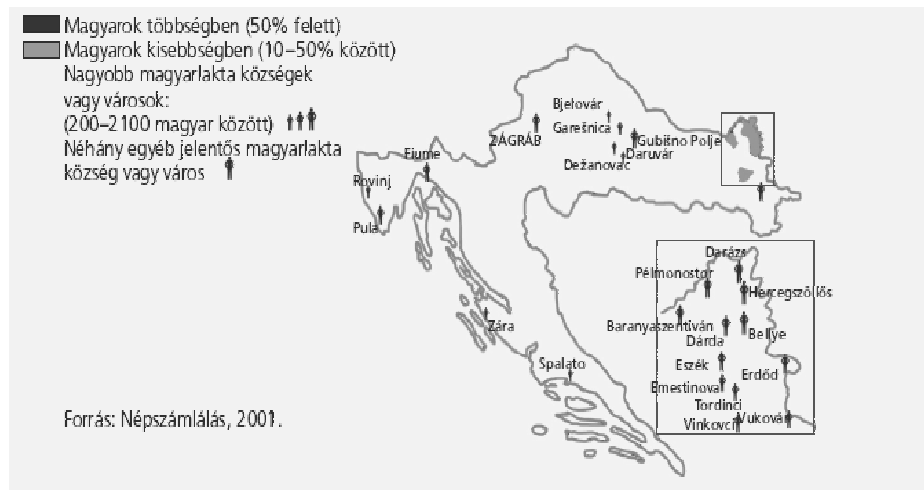
*Hungarians in Subcarpathia (Ukraine), 2011*

Source: *Kárpátalja – kárpátaljai magyarok*: [http://karpatalja.blog.hu/2009/12/26/title\\_1590592](http://karpatalja.blog.hu/2009/12/26/title_1590592) (Download in the 4th of September, 2017)

*Hungarians in Croatia*

The territory of the Republic of Croatia, independent since 25th June 1991, is 56,538 km<sup>2</sup>. From historical Hungary, Međimurje (740 km<sup>2</sup>), the Baranya triangle (1 016 km<sup>2</sup>) and the city of Rijeka (Fiume) (21 km<sup>2</sup>) belong to Croatia today.<sup>36</sup> The data of the 2011 Croatian census show that the number of Hungarians decreased considerably, only 14,048 Hungarians were registered (16 595 in 2001). The number of Hungarians in Croatia decreased by 2 547 between 2001 and 2011, which means a loss of 15,35 per cent.

<sup>36</sup> EDELÉNYI-SZABÓ DÉNES: *Magyarország közjogi alkatrészeinek és törvényhatóságainak területváltozásai. Különlenyomat a „Magyar Statisztikai Szemle” 1928. (VI.) évfolyamából.* Hornyánszky Viktor Részvénytársaság, Magyar Királyi Udvari Könyvnyomda, Budapest, 1928.

*Hungarians in Croatia, 2001*

Source: *Jelentés a külhoni magyarság helyzetéről, Horvátország, 2008*: [http://www.sulinet.hu/oroksegtar/data/kulhoni\\_magyarsag/2009/Jelentes\\_a\\_kulhoni\\_magyarsag\\_helyzeterol/pages/007\\_horvatorszag.htm](http://www.sulinet.hu/oroksegtar/data/kulhoni_magyarsag/2009/Jelentes_a_kulhoni_magyarsag_helyzeterol/pages/007_horvatorszag.htm) (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.)

Međimurje was part of the historical Zala county, it was constituted by two districts, Čakovec (Csáktornya) and Prelog (Perlak), and the settlement of Legrad (Légrad) in the district of Nagykanizsa also became part of the South Slavic state. According to 2001 Croatian census figures, 113 804 people lived in Međimurje, 106 744 of whom were Croats. Ethnic Hungarians numbered only 66 persons (0,06%). Čakovec, the centre of Međimurje, had a total population of 27 104, 18 of whom were Hungarians (0,07%). In Međimurje the Hungarian population has been assimilated completely.<sup>37</sup>

The Baranya triangle [also called Baranjska (Drávaszög)] had belonged to Baranya county until the Treaty of Trianon was signed. At the time of the Treaty of Trianon 34 settlements could be found there, this number has grown to 51 by today, nine of which are colonist settlements set up after 1920. According to the census figures of year 2011, 14 048 citizens of Hungarian nationality lived in the territory of the Republic of Croatia, and 43 per cent (6 046 people) of this population lived in the Baranya triangle in absolute or relative majority. The Baranya triangle is typically a region with small villages living on agriculture, viniculture, horticulture, fishing and forestry. Only few settlements have a population over one thousand. The Croatian census of year 2011 revealed that there were approximately nine settlements in the Baranya triangle with Hungarian majority, and in another six settlements Hungarians were in strong minority.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Croatian Bureau of Statistics: [https://www.dzs.hr/eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/e01\\_01\\_04/E01\\_01\\_04\\_zup20.html](https://www.dzs.hr/eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/e01_01_04/E01_01_04_zup20.html) (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.)

<sup>38</sup> Croatian Bureau of Statistics: [https://www.dzs.hr/eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/e01\\_01\\_04/E01\\_01\\_04\\_zup14.html](https://www.dzs.hr/eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/e01_01_04/E01_01_04_zup14.html) (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.)

The city of Rijeka is interesting from the Hungarian aspect. In the historical past it was the only port of the Kingdom of Hungary. According to the 2001 Croatian census, there were 214 (0,17%) Hungarians in the city out of its total population of 128 624. Ten years earlier, in 2001, 252 persons declared Hungarian nationality in the city of Rijeka.<sup>39</sup>

According to the Croatian census of 2001, 7 722 people lived in historical Croatian areas as well as in Dalmatia and Istria.

From among the historical Croatian territories Eastern Slavonia and Western Syrmia have the greatest importance in respect of the Hungarian population. The Hungarians lived in about 20 settlements, and they were in majority only in three of them – Rastina (Haraszi), Korog (Kórogy) and Laslovo (Szentlászló). In the other settlements Hungarians formed a local minority. More than half of the Hungarians living in these settlements became homeless during the South Slavic war. The entire Hungarian population fled from Eastern Slavonia while their settlements – Korog, Rastina, Laslovo – were damaged or destroyed in the South Slavic war. Nowadays it is still customary in this region to have only one child in the family, consequently the Hungarian population of Rastina has aged considerably.

The centre of the Hungarians in Croatia is Osijek (Eszék). At the time of the Croatian census of 2011 the total population of Osijek was 108 048, within this there were 96 746 Croats (89,54%) and 11 302 people (10,46%) of other nationalities. The number of the Hungarians amounted only to 979. There are only few sporadic Hungarian populations west of the city.<sup>40</sup> In Central Croatia (in the territory of the historical Bjelovar-Križevci (Belovár-Kőrös) and Požega (Pozsega) counties) there were only approximately 3,000 Hungarians left by the beginning of the 1990s. There is no Hungarian majority in any of the settlements in the region (about 16 settlements). The number of Hungarians within the total population is negligible. It is almost certain that the fate of these sporadic Hungarian groups is sealed. Their total assimilation is inevitable.

According to the data of Croatian authorities, about 1 000-1 500 people of Hungarian nationality died in the South Slavic war, which broke out in 1991. The direct damage suffered by Croatia during the war came to 27 billion kunas in total; the damage caused in the Baranya triangle and in Eastern Slavonia amounted to 13 billion kunas. Devastation in the Baranya triangle and particularly in Eastern Slavonia was huge. Uncleared mines are a potential source of danger in both areas. As a result of the war (and the Serbian occupation), great numbers of Hungarians fled from the Baranya triangle and Eastern Slavonia either abroad – first of all to Hungary – or to the safer western parts of the country. Although the Erdut Agreement signed in November 1995 allowed the Hungarians of the two regions to return, they started to move back only in 1997, and even then only about 75% of the Hungarian refugees returned. The South Slavic war changed the ethnic composition completely in the Baranya triangle and in Eastern Slavonia.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Croatian Bureau of Statistics*: [https://www.dzs.hr/eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/e01\\_01\\_04/E01\\_01\\_04\\_zup08.html](https://www.dzs.hr/eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/e01_01_04/E01_01_04_zup08.html) (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.)

<sup>40</sup> *Croatian Bureau of Statistics*: [https://www.dzs.hr/eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/e01\\_01\\_04/E01\\_01\\_04\\_zup14.html](https://www.dzs.hr/eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/e01_01_04/E01_01_04_zup14.html) (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.)

<sup>41</sup> *Jelentés a külhoni magyarság helyzetéről, Horvátország, 2008*: [http://www.sulinet.hu/oroksegtar/data/kulhoni\\_magyarsag/2009/Jelentes\\_a\\_kulhoni\\_magyarsag\\_helyzeterol/pages/007\\_horvatorszag.htm](http://www.sulinet.hu/oroksegtar/data/kulhoni_magyarsag/2009/Jelentes_a_kulhoni_magyarsag_helyzeterol/pages/007_horvatorszag.htm) (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.)



The rate of the decline of the Hungarian population is getting faster, and it is further accelerated by assimilation and by one of its “contributors”, by intermarriages. Assimilation is also promoted by the fact the Hungarian-language education is a mere shadow of what it was before 1991. Assimilation will certainly have decreased their number to below 10 000 by the time of the next census.

#### *Hungarians in Austria (Burgenland)*

Burgenland (in Hungarian: Várvidék or Örvidék) is the youngest province of Austria. Its territory is 3 965 km<sup>2</sup>. The centre of the province is Eisenstadt (Kismarton), that of the Hungarian population is Oberwart (Felsőőr).<sup>42</sup>

Burgenland was part of historical Hungary before 1920, it was constituted by the areas of three West-Hungarian counties, Moson, Sopron and Vas, inhabited mainly by Germans.

As to origin, Ethnic Hungarians in Burgenland can basically be classified into three groups. Hungarians living in the northern part, mostly annexed to Austria from the historical Moson county, are the descendants of former manor wage labourers and servants.

The second group is constituted by the descendants of former civil servants in historical Sopron county. (Due to the demographic characteristics, the descendants of the two groups mentioned can hardly be found any more.)

The third group is made up by the descendants of the border guards of Őrség. After the events of Lech Field (955 A.D.) so-called border guard settlements were set up in the open western territories to protect the order of the Hungarian state. As a result of the (Turkish) wars and the settling of Germans and Croats, these Hungarian settlements lost their direct territorial connection with the areas with Hungarian majority and have lived as language islands for 450 years.<sup>43</sup>

Features of assimilation are strongly typical of the ethnic group of Hungarians. The process is not spontaneous in nature but its rate is accelerating. The difficulties of maintaining contact with Hungary for a long time, the inadequacy of the teaching of the Hungarian language and first of all the increasing frequency of intermarriages all had a major role in the assimilation of Hungarians in Burgenland.

In connection with assimilation and intermarriages the three phases of the so-called “family model of Őrség” have to be mentioned:

1. From the beginnings until the 1950s it was rare for somebody to marry a “person from the country”. This is typical not only in Őrség, it can be observed elsewhere, too, but (due to the special feature of being a language island) it had concrete culture- and language-forming, conserving effects.

2. From the 1950s until the 1970s a period of transition can be observed: in intermarriages made during that time it was the spouse “from the country” who learned to speak Hungarian.

---

<sup>42</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *A burgenlandi magyarság demográfiai és társadalomstatistikai sajátosságai*. Területi Statisztika, Budapest, 2005. 1. szám, 33. p.

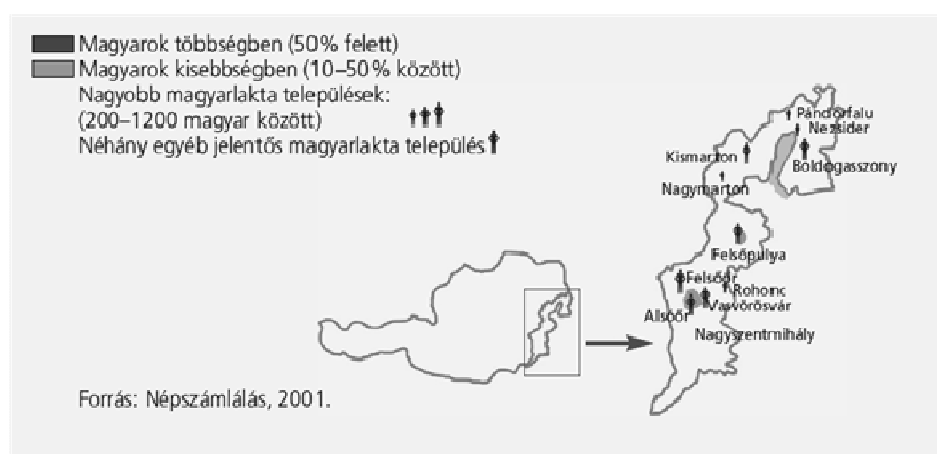
<sup>43</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *A burgenlandi magyarság demográfiai és társadalomstatistikai sajátosságai*. Területi Statisztika, Budapest, 2005. 1. szám, 37. p.

3. Since the 1980s it has not happened any more: German is spoken in intermarriages. However, if one of the spouses comes from Hungary, the Hungarian language is spoken similarly to traditional, non-intermarriages. (Interestingly enough, the latter ones still prove to be the most lasting relationships.)<sup>44</sup>

The assimilation of ethnic Hungarians in Burgenland is promoted by the break-up of the traditional family structures living on agriculture and simultaneously by the increasingly more common employment in urban centres (Vienna, Wiener Neustadt (Bécsújhely), Graz, etc.) outside the language area.

7. map

*Hungarians in Burgenland, Austria, 2001*



Source: Tóth Antal: Magyarország és a Kárpát-medence regionális társadalomföldrajza: [http://www.tankonyvtar.hu/hu/tartalom/tamop425/0038\\_foldrajz\\_TothAntal/ch01s41.html](http://www.tankonyvtar.hu/hu/tartalom/tamop425/0038_foldrajz_TothAntal/ch01s41.html) (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.)

According to the Austrian census of year 2001, Hungarians in Vienna and in Burgenland were the largest officially recognized ethnic group in Austria. This is explained by the specifics of the legal regulation of minority protection in Austria.

According to the Austrian census conducted in 2001, the number of ethnic Hungarians in Austria was 40 583. Ten years earlier there were only 33 459 Hungarians, which meant 0,42 per cent of the country's population at that time. The great majority of Hungarians (38,03%) live in Vienna (15,435 persons). As to origin, Hungarians in Vienna can be basically classified into three groups. Some of the Hungarians living in Vienna are the descendants of Hungarian-speaking maids and servants who came to Vienna with Hungarian aristocrats during the past centuries. Another group is constituted by persons

<sup>44</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *A burgenlandi magyarság demográfiai és társadalomstatistikai sajátosságai*. Területi Statisztika. Budapest, 2005. 1. szám. 37. p.

who emigrated in 1956 and by their descendants, while the third group is the group of people emigrating from Hungary to Vienna in the 1980s.<sup>45</sup>

An essential Hungarian aspect of the 2001 Austrian census is that according to the 1991 Austrian census 6,763 Hungarians lived in Burgenland, while in 2001 Hungarians in Burgenland numbered 6,641. The decrease in 10 years was only 122 persons (1,8%).

Hungarians in Burgenland are the oldest among ethnic Hungarians living in the Carpathian Basin. Neither native speakers of German nor those of Croatian have such a high ratio of over-60 population as the Hungarian minority.<sup>46</sup>

Two-thirds of the native speakers of Hungarian in Burgenland live in the so-called Upper Örség (Felső-Örség) [Unterwart (Alsóőr), Oberwart (Felsőőr), Siget i.d. Wart (Órisziget) and Oberpullendorf (Felsőpulya)], the remaining one-third is distributed among a total number of 153 settlements in the entire territory of Burgenland. Only the above-mentioned four settlements have more than 10% of Hungarians (Unterwart 74.4%, Oberwart 17.5%, Oberpullendorf 21.5%, Siget i.d. Wart 70.4%).

Out of the 153 settlements of Burgenland, Hungarians are in majority only in Unterwart, as well as in Siget i.d. Wart annexed to the settlement of Rotenturm an der Pinka (Vasvörösvár). In Oberwart and Oberpullendorf Hungarians constitute only strong minority. In two settlements, in Unterwart and Oberpullendorf, Hungarians are predominantly Roman Catholic, in Siget i.d. Wart Lutheran while in Oberwart mainly Calvinist. The assimilation of the two Protestant congregations is fairly advanced, services are mostly held in German.

The number of Hungarians living in Burgenland was 10 000 (estimated data). Because in Austria for the first time the 2011 census was conducted as a register-based census. There was no ethnicity and religious data.<sup>47</sup>

#### *Hungarians in Slovenia (Prekmurje)*

The territory of Prekmurje in the Republic of Slovenia, which became independent on 25th June 1991, is 940 km<sup>2</sup>, it was part of two counties, Vas and Zala, before 1920.

Hungarians in Prekmurje can be divided into two groups. One group is made up by “Hungarians in Örség”, with eight settlements. The other group consists of “Hungarians in the Lendava (Lendva) region” (23 settlements).

Hungarians in Prekmurje live in 31 settlements only, these are officially called “bilingual” settlements. In addition to these 31 settlements, Hungarians live sporadically in some larger cities (Murska Sobota (Muraszombat), Ljubljana, Maribor).

---

<sup>45</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *Magyarok – államhatárainkon túl*. Pólay Elemér Alapítvány, Szeged, 2011.

<sup>46</sup> GERHARD BAUMGARTNER: *Ausztria magyar nyelvű lakossága a 2001-es osztrák népszámlálás tükrében*. In.: Gyurgyík László – Sebők László: *Népszámlálási körkép Közép-Európából*, Teleki László Alapítvány. Budapest, 2003.

<sup>47</sup> KAPITÁNY BALÁZS: *Kárpát-medencei népszámlálási körkép*. In: Spéder Zsolt (felelős kiadó): *Demográfia*. MTA Demográfiai Bizottsága és a KSH Népeségtudományi Kutató Intézet folyóirata. 2013. LVI. évfolyam 1. 57. p. Statistik Austria: [http://www.statistik.at/web\\_de/fragebogen/registerzaehlung/index.html](http://www.statistik.at/web_de/fragebogen/registerzaehlung/index.html) (Download in the 4th of September, 2017.)

The Hungarian block itself in Prekmurje, the “bilingual” settlements are located along the Slovenian-Hungarian border from Hodoš (Őrihodos) to Pince in an approximately 50-km-long and 3-to-15-km-wide area.

While at the beginning of the 1900s a definite language boundary could be drawn between the Hungarian and the Slovenian settlements, this became impossible by 2002 as these boundaries had been merged almost entirely. The fading of the ethnic boundary dates back to the 1960s when industrialization became more intense and this – among others – attracted large numbers of Hungarians into the cities.

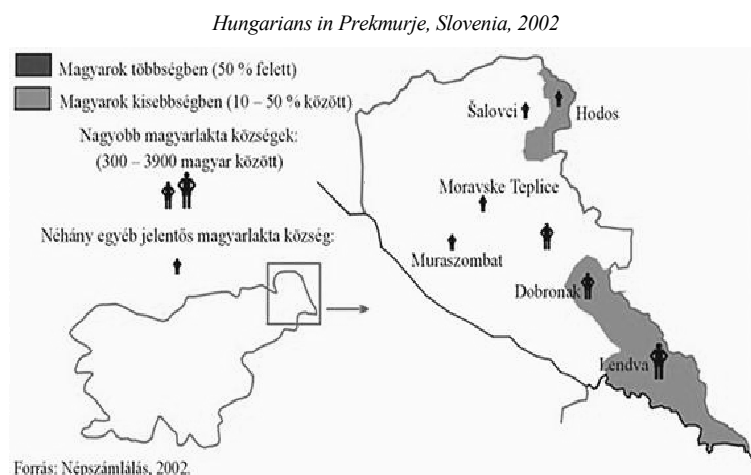
The strong tendency to assimilation is rooted mostly in the following causes:

1. insufficient population growth,
2. emigration (to find employment in Austria and Germany, or to pursue studies in Hungary),
3. internal migration (to find employment in the more developed regions of Slovenia),
4. (as a result of the migration of young people) the population of the “Hungarian” villages of Prekmurje is ageing,
5. unfavourable economic situation in Prekmurje,
6. Assimilation is also promoted by – the increasing rate of – intermarriages. The proportion of intermarriages exceeds 50%, and 80% of people coming from intermarriages declare Slovenian nationality.

Other factors contributing to the population decline of Hungarians include:

- great changes of fortune (Trianon, annexation back to Yugoslavia in 1945),
- World War I and II and the associated atrocities,
- „disappearance” of Slovenians and Jews who considered themselves Hungarian.<sup>48</sup>

8. map



Source: GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD – KATONA TAMÁS: *Demográfia*. Pólay Elemér Alapítvány, Szeged, 2014: [http://www.tankonyvtar.hu/hu/tartalom/tamop425/2011\\_0001\\_547\\_Demografia/ch14s07.html](http://www.tankonyvtar.hu/hu/tartalom/tamop425/2011_0001_547_Demografia/ch14s07.html) (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.)

<sup>48</sup> GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD: *Magyarok – államhatárainkon túl*. Pólay Elemér Alapítvány. Szeged, 2011. 320–324. pp.

According to 1991 census figures, there were 8 499 Hungarians living in Slovenia, 7 636 of them in Prekmurje. At the time of the Slovenian census of year 2002, there were only 6 243 Hungarians, 5 430 of whom lived in Prekmurje, that is in the area extending from the Mura to the Slovenian-Hungarian border.<sup>49</sup>

The number of Hungarians living in Prekmurje was 4 000 (estimated data). Because in Slovenia for the first time the 2011 census was conducted as a register-based census. There was no ethnicity and religious data.<sup>50</sup>

Although in 1992 an agreement on guaranteeing minority rights was signed by Hungary and Slovenia, which is beneficial to ethnic Hungarians in Prekmurje, it can hardly be expected to slow down the rate of assimilation and population decline.

## GYÉMÁNT RICHÁRD

### A HATÁRON TÚLI MAGYARSÁG DEMOGRÁFIAI SAJÁTOSSÁGAI 2011-BEN

#### (Összefoglalás)

A határon túli magyarság legfrissebb demográfiai sajátosságairól a környező országokban, a 2011-ben megtartott népszámlálások tájékoztatnak. A tanulmány a Magyarországgal szomszédos hét ország magyarságának számbeli alakulását vizsgálja. Ugyanakkor felhívja a figyelmet, hogy az utóbbi időben egyre nehezebb pontos számadatokat kapni az egyes határon túli magyar közösségek népességszámáról, illetve az egyes települések (városok, illetve falvak) településsoros nemzetiségi és felekezeti statisztikai adatairól. Ennek oka, hogy 2011-ben Ausztria és Szlovénia már ún. „*regiszer típusú népszámlálás*” alkalmazott a számbavételre, mely nem tette lehetővé az ún. „*különleges adatok*” – így a nemzetiségi statisztikai adatok – gyűjtését. Ezért ennél a két területnél csak becsült adataink vannak a határon túli magyarság lélekszámára vonatkozóan. Ukrajnában – anyagi és politikai okok miatt – 2001 óta nem tartottak népszámlálást, itt szintén becsléssel kell megelégednünk. Horvátország már 2001 óta, Románia és Szerbia pedig még nem közölte a 2011. évi népszámlálás településsoros adatait, csak a „nagyobb” közigazgatási egységekre vonatkozóan tették ezt meg. Egyedül északi szomszédunk, Szlovákia tette publikussá az ország településeink nemzetiségi statisztikai adatait a 2011. évi szlovák népszámlálás „fényében”. A tanulmány vizsgálja továbbá a rendszerváltozás óta eltelt időszak demográfiai sajátosságainak változásait a környező országok 1991/1992., a 2001/2002., illetve a 2011. évi népszámlálási adatai vonatkozásában.

---

<sup>49</sup> Republic of Slovenia, Statistical Office RS: <http://www.stat.si/popis2002/en/> (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.)

<sup>50</sup> Republic of Slovenia, Statistical Office RS: <http://www.stat.si/popis2011/eng/Default.aspx?lang=eng> (Download on the 4th of September, 2017.)